

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 EA-06 ISO-00 SAJ-01 SAM-01 BIB-01 IO-10 ACDA-05

CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-02 INR-07 L-02 NSAE-00 NSC-05

PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 EB-07 /088 W

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R 161622Z APR 75

FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9350

INFO CINCPAC

AMCONSUL HONG KONG

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY TAIPEI

AMEMBASSY TOKYO

USLO PEKING

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 MOSCOW 5296

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PFOR, CH, UR

SUBJECT: SOVIET MFA VIEWS OF CHINA, SINO-SOVIET TALKS

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

REF: MOSCOW 1967

1. SUMMARY. POLITICAL COUNSELOR CALLED ON IGOR ROGACHEV, DEPUTY CHIEF OF THE SOVIET MA'S FIRST FAR EAST DIVISION, ON APRIL 14 AND DISCUSSED WITH HIM RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN CHINA AND SINO-SOVIET RELATIONS. ROGACHEV ASSERTED THAT EVENTS IN CHINA OVER THE PAST TWO MONTHS, ESPECIALLY THE "PROLETARIAN DICTATORSHIP" CAMPAIGN, TEND TO CONFIRM MOSCOW'S VIEW OF MAJOR DIVISIONS AND A STRUGGLE FOR POWER AMONG THE PRC LEADERS (REFTEL). HE STATED THAT WHILE THE CHINESE PARTY HAS NO FORMAL "SECRETARIAT," THE FUNCTIONS OF SUCH A BODY MUST BE PERFORMED IN A COMMUNIST SYSTEM AND HE PROVIDED SOVIET ANALYSIS OF WHICH CHINESE LEADERS  
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PERFORM WHICH SECRETARIAT FUNCTIONS. HE REASSERTED THAT

MAO AND CHOU WERE AT LOGGERHEADS AND SAID THAT EVIDENCE OF THEIR DISAGREEMENT WAS "RELIABLE." THE OPEN ADMISSION BY PRC OFFICIALS THAT MAO WAS "ILL" WAS SIGNIFICANT AND PROBABLY CORRECT, SAID ROGACHEV. THE EXTRAVAGANT FUNERAL FOR TUNG PI-WU WAS AN EFFORT TO OBSCURE DIFFERENCES BEHIND A MASK OF UNITY, AND CHOU'S SUPPOSED ILLNESS WAS MERELY AN ATTEMPT BY HIM TO STAY OUT OF THE LINE OF FIRE. ON THE BORDER TALKS, ROGACHEV SAID THAT THE MAIN SUBJECT UNDER DISCUSSION WAS AN ACCORD AFFIRMING THE STATUS QUO, BUT THAT MOSCOW COULD NOT ACCEPT PEKING'S DEFINITION OF "DISPUTED TERRITORIES." END SUMMARY.

2. COMMENTING ON RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN CHINA, ROGACHEV SAID THAT SOVIET ANALYSTS WERE CONVINCED OF THE VALIDITY OF THEIR POST-NPC ANALYSIS WHICH HIGHLIGHTED THE STRENGTH OF THE "LEFTISTS" AND THE DIVISIONS IN THE LEADERSHIP. ARTICLES BY CHANG CHUN-CHIAO AND YAO WEN-YUAN CLEARLY SHOW THAT THE CONFLICT BETWEEN THE LEFTISTS AND THE "PRAGMATISTS" IS AN ONGOING ONE. YAO'S ARTICLE WAS ESPECIALLY NOTABLE, COMING SOON AFTER THE NPC BUT NEVER REFERRING TO IT OR THE STATEMENTS MADE THERE. IT TOOK A COMPLETELY DIFFERENT LINE FROM CHOU'S SPEECH, ROGACHEV SAID.

3. ON THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN MAO AND CHOU, ROGACHEV REAFFIRMED HIS PREVIOUS STATEMENTS (REFTEL) THAT THEY WERE ANTAGONISTS. HE SAID THAT THE MAOISTS WERE IN THE PROCESS OF "DIGGING A HOLE" UNDER CHOU. HE REPEATED THAT THE EVIDENCE OF MAO-CHOU DIFFERENCES WAS "RELIABLE," AND SAID THE SOVIETS WERE SURE OF THEIR FACTS IN THIS REGARD. WHEN ASKED ABOUT THE NATURE OF HIS EVIDENCE, HE REPLIED THAT IT WAS NOT THE KIND USUALLY PUBLISHED IN THE NEWSPAPER. THE YAO ARTICLE SHOWED THAT THE STRUGGLE WAS SHARPENING, PERHAPS NOT TO THE EXTENT OF THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION, BUT STILL SIGNIFICANTLY. MAO WAS ILL, AND POSSIBLY SERIOUSLY. CHINESE CADRES WERE PRIVATELY ADMITTING THAT HE WAS SICK--THE FIRST TIME THEY HAD EVER DONE SO.

4. ROGACHEV MADE MUCH OF TUNG PI-WU'S FUNERAL, WHICH  
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HE SAID WAS NOT AN ORDINARY EVENT. MAO HIMSELF WAS PROBABLY BEHIND THE EXTRAVAGANT ATTENTION TO TUNG'S FUNERAL. HOWEVER, NO HIGH-LEVEL LEADER APPEARED FOR THE PUBLIC DEMONSTRATION IN TIEN AN MEN SQUARE, ROGACHEV SAID. THE EXTENT OF THE COVERAGE WAS PROBABLY INTENDED TO CONVEY A SENSE OF UNITY TO MASK THE DISUNITY BEHIND THE FACADE. TUNG HAD NEVER BEEN AN EXTREMIST, BUT HAD CONSISTENTLY FOLLOWED A MODERATE COURSE.

OLD MEN SUCH AS TUNG AND CHU TEH HAVE THE AUTHORITY TO ARGUE WITH MAO AND THEY IN FACT DID SO. THE YOUNGER ONES DO NOT.

5. ROGACHEV ASSERTED THAT CHOU EN-LAI HAS USED THE PRETEXT OF ILLNESS TO STAY OUT OF THE LINE OF FIRE IN RECENT MONTHS. OBSERVERS AND VISITORS CONFIRM THAT HE IS HEALTHY AND "FRESH AS A CUCUMBER," SAID ROGACHEV.

6. DISCUSSING OTHER CHINESE PERSONALITIES, ROGACHEV SAID THAT CHANG CHUN-CHIAO HAD CLEARLY EMERGED AS ONE OF THE REGIME'S MOST IMPORTANT LEADERS. BEING HEAD OF THE PLA'S GENERAL POLITICAL DEPARTMENT WAS PARTICULARLY IMPORTANT AT THIS TIME. TOGETHER WITH HIS PARTY AND GOVERNMENT FUNCTIONS, THIS MADE CHANG A KEY FIGURE. YEH CHIEN-YING, WHILE MINISTER OF DEFENSE, HAD NOT BEEN NAMED A VICE PREMIER AND THIS INDICATED A DECLINE IN HIS FORTUNES, ROGACHEV ASSERTED. WANG HUNG-WEN WAS ALSO A KEY FIGURE, WHOM MAO WOULD LIKE TO SEE GROOMED AS HIS SPIRITUAL HEIR, ROGACHEV SAID. TENG HSIAO-PING IS MAO'S CHOICE AS SUCCESSOR TO CHOU. HE ALSO HAS IMPORTANT OVERLAPPING AUTHORITY IN THE PARTY AND THE ARMY, BUT IT IS NOT CLEAR HOW HE FUNCTIONS IN THESE OTHER ROLES, ROGACHEV SAID.

7. CLARIFYING A PREVIOUS CONVERSATION, ROGACHEV SAID THAT THERE IS NO PARTY SECRETARIAT IN THE FORMAL SENSE. HOWEVER, CERTAIN PARTY LEADERS CONTINUE TO PERFORM DESIGNATED SECRETARIAL FUNCTIONS AND THE VARIOUS SPECIAL DEPARTMENTS OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE HAVE CONTINUED TO OPERATE ALL ALONG. PROBABLY MEMBERS OF THIS SHADOW SECRETARIAT, ROGACHEV ASSERTED, ARE CHANG CHUN-CHIAO, CHIANG CHING, WANG HUNG-WEN, YAO WEN-YUAN, CONFIDENTIAL

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TENG HSIAO-PING, AND KENG PIAO. CHANG WOULD PROBABLY BE SECRETARY GENERAL IF ONE WERE NAMED, SAID ROGACHEV. TENG MIGHT BE ANOTHER POSSIBILITY BUT THE SOVIETS HAVE NO EVIDENCE ON TENG'S PARTY RESPONSIBILITIES AND, GIVEN HIS PAST HISTORY, THIS IS UNLIKELY. CHIANG CHING IS RESPONSIBLE FOR ARTS AND CULTURE. WANG IS IN CHARGE OF PARTY ORGANIZATIONAL WORK, A KEY POSITION. YAO IS IN CHARGE OF IDEOLOGY AND PROPAGANDA AND KENG PIAO IS HEAD OF THE INTERNATIONAL DEPARTMENT. THERE IS NO CLEARLY IDENTIFIABLE SECRETARY IN CHARGE OF AGRICULTURE OR INDUSTRY, ROGACHEV SAID. HE ATTRIBUTED THIS TO DIVISION OF LABOR IN CHINA WHERE CHOU AND PRAGMATISTS NOW CONTROL ALL ASPECTS OF THE ECONOMY AND THE PARTY IS SECONDARY IN THIS AREA.

8. RE ALLEGATIONS OF CONTINUED STRUGGLE IN THE PLA,  
ROGACHEV SAID THAT THE APPOINTMENTS OF PARTY TYPES TO

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PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 EB-07 /088 W

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R 161622Z APR 75

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SENIOR POSITIONS CLEARLY SHOWED THE LEADERSHIP'S  
DETERMINATION TO KEEP AUTHORITY OVER THE ARMY IN PARTY  
HANDS. THE MINISTRY OF DEFENSE DOES NOT PLAY A DOMINANT  
ROLE IN THE NEW STRUCTURE, BUT THE MILITARY AFFAIRS  
COMMISSION OF THE PARTY DOES. EVEN IF MAO DOES NOT PLAY AN  
ACTIVE ROLE IN THE MAC, THE PRESENCE OF WANG, CHANG AND  
YEH ON THAT BODY GIVE IT A DOMINANT ROLE. THE GENERAL  
POLITICAL DEPARTMENT WOULD ALSO HAVE A LARGER ROLE IN  
RUNNING THE PLA, HE SAID. THE POSITION OF THE VARIOUS  
REGIONAL MILITARY COMMANDERS WAS NOT CLEAR. LI TEH-  
SHENG WAS STILL IN PLACE IN SHENYANG ALTHOUGH APPARENTLY  
WITH EDUCED AUTHORITY. HSU SHIH-YO NEVER SEEMED TO  
LEAVE CANTON. HOWEVER, THE SINKIANG COMMANDER HAD BEEN  
A MEMBER OF THE RECENT PRC DELEGATION TO HANOI, WHICH MAY MEAN  
THAT HE IS TAKING ON WIDER RESPONSIBILITIES. CHEN HSI-

LIEN IN PEKING SEEMS TO BE THE BIG GAINER AMONG THE REGIONAL COMMANDERS. AMONG THESE INDIVIDUALS IT IS NOT CONFIDENTIAL

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CLEAR WHO SIDES WITH THE LEFTISTS AND WHO WITH THE PRAGMATISTS. BUT IN ANY CASE THE POWER STRUGGLE IN THE ARMY IS CONTINUING, SAID ROGACHEV, AND AUTHORITY OVER THE ARMY IS CENTRAL TO POWER IN THE COUNTRY AT LARGE. RESIDUAL PRO-LIN PIAO FEELINGS ARE BOUND TO EXIST, HE SAID, BUT ONE CANNOT SPECIFY PRECISELY WHERE. SOVIET DIPLOMATS AND OTHER RECENT VISITORS HAVE NOTICED BIG CHARACTER POSTERS IN WUHAN ATTACKING MILITARY COMMANDERS FOR SUPPORTING THE CONFUCIUS-LIN LINE. SIMILAR REPORTS HAVE BEEN RECEIVED FROM KIANGSU AND CHEKIANG, ROGACHEV SAID.

9. ROGACHEV CAUTIONED AGAINST DISMISSING CHINA'S VARIOUS STATEMENTS ABOUT THE INEVITABILITY OF WAR. NOT ALL PRC LEADERS MAY FOLLOW THIS LINE OR REALLY BELIEVE IN IT, BUT SOME EXTREMISTS DO AND ONE CANNOT DISREGARD THEIR POSSIBLE INFLUENCE, ESPECIALLY IN THE SUCCESSION PERIOD. SOME CHINESE TALK UP THE POSSIBILITY OF CONFLICT BETWEEN THE "SUPERPOWERS" BECAUSE THEY SEE THAT AS THE SHORTEST ROUTE TO ACHIEVING A DOMINANT WORLD POSITION FOR CHINA. HOWEVER, ROGACHEV ASSERTED THAT THERE IS NO REALISTIC LIKELIHOOD THAT CHINA WILL BECOME A SUPERPOWER IN THIS CENTURY, AS CHOU AND OTHECS MAY WISH. CHINA HAS TOO FAR TO GO.

10. ROGACHEV SAID THAT THERE WAS NO NEWS ABOUT THE IMPRISONED HELICOPTER CREW AND POINTEDLY ASKED IN THIS REGARD HOW LONG OUR IMPRISONED FLIERS HAD REMAINED IN CHINA AFTER THE KOREAN WAR. ON THE BORDER TALKS, HE SAID THAT THEY WERE GOING ON AS USUAL. THERE HAD BEEN NO SIGNIFICANT PROGRESS, BUT IL'ICHEV WOULD STAY A WHILE LONGER--PERHAPS ANOTHER MONTH. THE MEETINGS THUS FAR, ROGACHEV SAID, WERE DEVOTED TO NEGOTIATING AN AGREEMENT CONFIRMING THE STATUS QUO ON THE BORDERS. THE CHINESE, HE SAID, REITERATE THAT THE QUESTION OF "DISPUTED TERRITORIES" MUST BE DECIDED FIRST. THE SOVIET SIDE IS WILLING TO SETTLE BY MUTUAL GIVE-AND-TAKE THE MINOR TERRITORIAL QUESTIONS ARISING FROM THE DIFFERENCES IN THE TWO SIDES' MAPS, BUT MOSCOW WILL NOT ADMIT THAT THERE ARE "DISPUTED TERRITORIES" AND WITHDRAW FROM THEM AS A PROCURSOR TO THE NEGOTIATIONS, WHICH IS WHAT THE

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CHINESE DEMAND. AN AGREEMENT ON MAINTAINING THE STATUS QUO WOULD ALLOW THE TWO SIDES TO MOVE ON TO THE QUESTION OF DEMARCATING THE BORDER. THERE ARE ONE OR TWO SESSIONS EACH WEEK, SAID ROGACHEV, EACH LASTING THREE OR FOUR HOURS. PLENARY SESSIONS ARE HELD ONLY WHEN IL'ICHEV IS PRESENT, BUT "EXPERT-LEVEL" TALKS GO ON ALL THE TIME.

11. THE SOVIET DELEGATION HAD RECENTLY BEEN HOSTED BY THE CHINESE DELEGATION TO A TOUR TO SOUTH CHINA, INCLUDING KUEILIN AND SOOCHOW WHERE FEW FOREIGNERS HAVE GONE IN RECENT YEARS. ROGACHEV SAID THAT HE HAD GONE ON TWO SIMILAR TRIPS WHILE HE WAS SERVING ON THE BORDER TALKS DELEGATION IN PEKING, AND DESCRIBED THEM AS ELEGANT AFFAIRS. EACH DELEGATION HAD TWO TRAIN CARS, HE SAID, WITH A DINING CAR IN THE MIDDLE. THE FOOD WAS THE BEST AVAILABLE, AND THE SERVICE WAS IMPECCABLE. THE CHINESE DO THAT SORT OF THING VERY WELL, HE SAID POIGNANTLY.

12. COMMENT: ROGACHEV, AS ALWAYS, WAS QUITE FORTHCOMING AND SEEMED VERY APPRECIATIVE OF OPPORTUNITY TO EXCHANGE VIEWS ON RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN CHINA  
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## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 01 JAN 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** DIPLOMATIC DISCUSSIONS, POLITICAL SITUATION, POLITICAL LEADERS, FORM OF GOVERNMENT  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 16 APR 1975  
**Decaption Date:** 01 JAN 1960  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** GolinoFR  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1975MOSCOW05296  
**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** n/a  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** X1  
**Errors:** N/A  
**Film Number:** D750133-0507  
**From:** MOSCOW  
**Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Image Path:**  
**ISecure:** 1  
**Legacy Key:** link1975/newtext/t19750446/aaaabqum.tel  
**Line Count:** 300  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM  
**Office:** ACTION EUR  
**Original Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 6  
**Previous Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Previous Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Reference:** 75 MOSCOW 1967  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Authority:** GolinoFR  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 19 MAY 2003  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <19 MAY 2003 by BoyleJA>; APPROVED <20 MAY 2003 by GolinoFR>  
**Review Markings:**

Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
05 JUL 2006

**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** SOVIET MFA VIEWS OF CHINA, SINO-SOVIET TALKS CINCPAC FOR POLAD  
**TAGS:** PFOR, CH, UR  
**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 05 JUL 2006